DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 136 608 FL 008 483

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TITLE The Basic Intonation Contours in Spoken Italian.
PUB DATE May 75
NOTE 60p.; Master's Thesis, University of Texas at Austin

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Descriptive Linguistics; Distinctive Features; *Intonation; *Italian; Language Patterns; Language Research; *Phonemics; Phonetics; *Phonology; Semantics; Sentence Structure; Stress (Phonology); Suprasegmentals

ABSTRACT

Following a review of related work on intonation, both phonetic and phonemic descriptions of intonation in Italian are presented. Using recordings of radio broadcasts as data, a system of assigning pitch levels to syllables was devised, based on four pitches. The close relationship between stress placement and pitch level was considered. In order to test the hypothesis that the phonemic function of intonation was in some ways predictable, the phonetic description was related to sentence structure. A basic inventory of phonemic intonation contours was defined, including: (1) declarative sentences: small and large non-final syntactic groups, both types having rising and falling contours, and final groups, with falling contours; (2) yes-no questions, with both rising and falling contours; (3) information questions, with both rising and falling contours; (4) commands, with one falling contour; and (5) exclamations, with one falling contour. A phonetic inventory of rising and falling intonation contours in Italian concludes the text. (CLK)

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ED136608

THE BASIC INTONATION CONTOURS IN SPOKEN ITALIAN

by

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THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

FL008483

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

May 1975

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1.1 Introduction

It soon becomes evident to any listener that the syntactic and phonetic events in spoken Italian are accompanied by a kind of melody, marked by rising and falling pitches. The sequence of these pitches at their various levels is usually known as intonation. The present study will start with the assumption that these sequences of pitches can be defined as separate units, pitch contours. Evidence will be presented to substantiate the ideas that these contours are predictable in their occurrence and hence, that some basic patterns can be defined. During the study, the melody of the spoken data was plotted by assigning a specific pitch level to each syllable. There are also other criteria besides the plotting of the melody for defining the complete contour, however, and these will be dealt with. Defining the basic contours has to do with examining the relationship between intonation and the segmental material, and determining what the contrastive functions of intonation are. Therefore, both the phonetic and the phonemic nature of intonation will be explored. The basic contours will be defined and possible variants will be considered. The function of each contour and its eventual relationship to the other contours will also be discussed. It is thus hoped that some valuable light will be shed on the nature of intonation in Italian.

II.

Related Work on Intonation

The early work on Italian intonation done by C.E. Parmenter and S.N. Treviño[1] defines intonation in Italian mainly as a partner for stress. They state that there will be as many summits in a given phonic group as there are stressed syllables, and that the pitch summits coincide with the stress summits. A phonic group may end in a variety of ways: if it is unfinished, it will end "high"; if it is finished, they describe a "long, low drop."[2] These ideas, though not incorrect, only begin to hint at the problems and give a rather vague idea as to the nature of intonation. They do not take into account "finished" segments that do end high, for example, or that the nature of intonation cannot be completely bound by stress.

A much later work, "Notes on Italian Intonation", by Marguerite Chapallaz,[3] describes three basic intonation patterns for given phonic groups: falling, falling-rising and intermediate. She also begins to describe the contexts in which they are found. She states, for example, that a statement is most commonly marked by a falling intonation, whereas unfinished groups of varying length will have some variety of "intermediate" intonation. In her "Further Notes on Italian Intonation",[4] Chapallaz goes on to describe the possible variations of what she defines as Basic Pattern I (falling) and Basic Pattern II (falling-rising). Variations include, for example, the use of Basic Pattern I for small segments in an enumeration, and for particular non-final groups. Without completely

outlining her ideas, it is nevertheless necessary to point out that she has crossed the threshhold and has begun to deal with more than just the basic fact that spoken Italian has a melody. That is, though one can begin to establish basic contours for questions as opposed to statements, for example, or for non-final groups as opposed to final ones, she has hit upon the essential problem of overlapping and contrast. This means that one contour may be seen to work for two different environments, with resulting semantic difference, of course. And in terms of syntactic grouping, the expected contour for a non-final group may not appear and may even be replaced by the one expected for a final group. Finally, with her idea that Basic Pattern II is often used to make interrogatives (normally found with Basic Patter I) sound more "gracious," she hints at what seems to be the extra-linguistic function of intonation. This extra-linguistic function involves the signalling of the speaker's attitude or emotions concerning what he is hearing or saying. (Parmenter and Treviño had also discussed this, however in a vague way.)

In an article entitled "Italian Intonation Patterns in Conversation and Reading,"[5] Harold Ames brings up some essential ideas in the consideration of Italian intonation. He points out the importance of the pauses that accompany or follow given intonation contours in determining the contour as a complete unit. He outlines the various functions of intonation, one of these functions being to determine the relationship of certain phrases to each other in sentences. As will be seen, this is a fresh and important idea with regard to the category of non-final contours. He stresses the importance of lexicon, syntax and context when considering intonation. He essentially says that the distinctive function of

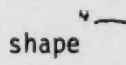
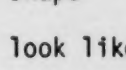
intonation can often be fulfilled by the elements mentioned above.

Finally, in his La Struttura dell'Italiano,[6] Robert Hall distinguishes four basic possibilities for intonation contours: rising, for non-final groups, and for final groups in the event of a yes-no question; rising-falling, for declarative sentences; falling for information questions; and falling-rising, also for information questions.

Studies in Italian intonation have resulted, therefore, in the determining of three, sometimes four basic contours that are said to be found regularly in given environments. The importance of stress in conjunction with pitch in determining the contour has also been shown. And Ames is responsible for introducing the importance of the pause.

All of the authors cited describe various kinds of rising or falling contours, but nowhere are these contours described in terms of distinct pitch levels. Such a system of distinct pitch levels has been the departure point for the present study. Bearing in mind that relative value of the four pitch levels assigned, such a system seems essential for a study of intonation. Not only will the use of such a system serve to sharpen the idea of a rising or falling contour. It will also demonstrate visually and precisely how different ascending contours (or descending) may have a variety of shapes and even be contrastive among themselves. It does not seem sufficient to simply describe the contours in terms of a general upward or downward movement.[7]

The system of levels used in this study to define the intonation contours is inspired by Delattre's work on French intonation.[8] Being fully aware of the relativity of his system,[9] he proposes a system of four levels, one being the lowest and four the highest. An intonation contour

(which in French normally coincides with the syntactic divisions in the sentence)[10] is made up of a series of pitch phonemes, or points in a sequence. Intonation contours have various types of boundaries, both syntactic and phonetic. For Delattre, the basic contours are defined in terms of their form and their function. Several contours, then, having a superficially similar falling form, from level 4 to level 1, for example, are distinguished both by their function in a given context: imperative, exclamation or information question, and by slight differences in the actual shape of the descending contour. An exclamation in French, for example, will take a shape  , 4 3 - 1. An interrogative question, on the other hand, will look like  , 4 2 - 1. By carefully defining basic contours, Delattre can explore the contrastive forms and functions of intonation patterns.

It is this system of assigning precise contours with the help of four levels, therefore, that has been applied to the data in this study. It is by no means assumed, however, that the same criteria will be sufficient to define contours in Italian, or that the contours discovered will be in any way similar in form or function. The problems of the actual phonetic description will be handled presently.

II. Footnotes

1. C.E. Parmenter and S.N. Treviño, "Italian Intonation," Italica, VII, (1930), p.84.

2. Ibid., p.84.

3. Marguerite Chapallaz, "Notes on Italian Intonation," Le Maître Phonétique, no.113, (1960) p.10.

4. Marguerite Chapallaz, "Further Notes on Italian Intonation," Le Maître Phonétique, no.117, (1962) p.5.

5. Harold Ames, "Italian Intonation Patterns in Conversation and Reading," Lingua e Stile, Anno IV, 1 (1969) pp.43-52.

6. Robert A. Hall, La Struttura dell'Italiano, (Roma: Armando Editore, 1971), pp.48-50.

7. Marguerite Chapallaz, "Notes," p.10.

8. Pierre Delattre, "Les Dix Intonations de base du français," French Review, 40, 1 (1966) pp.1-14.

9. Ibid., p.4.

10. Ernest F. Haden, A Syllabus for an Inservice Course in Applied Linguistics in French (Texas Education Agency Foreign Section, 1971) p.50.

III.

The Phonetic Description

In the introduction, it was stated that basic intonation patterns could be identified in Italian. The next task, then, is to determine what basic characteristics of an intonation pattern are, and to show how a contour is defined phonetically.

The first element to consider in an intonation contour is pitch. The contrasting pitches of an utterance areproduced by the varying rapidity of the vibration of the vocal cords. Pitch in speaking is different from the pitch in music, whose vibrations can be measured in terms of precise numbers of cycles per second. 440 cps, for example, is the frequency with which the piano or a stringed instrument vibrates to produce what is known as "orchestra A," an absolute value. The notation of music also represents exact and fixed intervals between the tones and the halftones of music.[1] In speech, however, pitch has a relative nature. Exact intervals between pitches cannot be defined, nor are they constant. That is, what is a high pitch for a male voice will compare to what is a high pitch for a female voice. If the pitch levels are parallel in any two given voices, however, it will be possible to define recognizable and repeated patterns.

In his study entitled Entonación Hispánica, Joseph Matluck states that

> desde el punto de vista puramente fonético, podríamos distinguir un mínimo de cinco o seis niveles de tono diferentes en la voz

> de un hispanohablante...Desde el punto de vista fonemático, en cambio, son solo tres los niveles de tono (tratandose especificamente del español) que tienen valor significativo o diferencial. 2

The situation is analogous for Italian. That is, collecting the data for this study consisted first in assigning a raw pitch value to each syllable in the segmental material. This is from a phonetic point of view. It was also noted that various sequences have a general ascending or descending direction. What was most interesting and important, however, was the fact that four pitch levels could be defined as having phonemic value. That is, the semantic value of a given segmental sequence could be completely changed by the substitution of one pitch level on a stressed syllable for another. Four pitch levels acquired central importance because of their contrastive functions. For example, the sequence l'avreste fatto can be interpreted by the listener either as a declarative sentence or as a question requiring a yes-no answer. The difference in the message is accomplished by the contrast between level 3 and level 4:

L'avréste fátto? vs. L'avréste fátto. (F38)

(Contrast is also present here in the intonation contour of the last word, between level 2 of the question and level 1 of the declarative.)

What is important, then, as far as pitch is concerned, is the distinction between the phonetic event of pitch and its phonemic function. The four levels used to define the basic intonation contours in this study have key functions in determining meaning. They will be the means by which intonation contours will be defined beyond the statement that there are simply rising and falling contours in spoken Italian.

The second element needed to define an intonation contour is

stress, that is , the significant use of intensity in speech. Pronouncing the different syllables of a given word with differing intensities is a usual part of the phonetic event of speaking. There are various levels of intensity. The strongest is known as primary stress and has been indicated in this study by an accent above the vowel. In Italian, the placement of the primary stress is described in terms of where the stressed syllable lies in relation to the last syllable of a given word. Monosyllabic words obviously have the stress on their only syllable, while words with two or more syllables may have the primary stress on the penultimate or next-to-last syllable, i.e. amíco or signorína. Some words receive primary stress on the last syllable and other words on the third or the fourth from the last i.e. cittá, universitá, útile, ábitano. There is also a secondary stress in Italian. It has less intensity than the primary, and appears regualrly without phonological function in words that have more than one syllable before the stressed syllable, i.e. sìlenzióso. And in some compound words, it will appear in the first of the compound where the primary would normally occur, i.e. pòrtabagágli. The syllables that have neither primary or secondary stress have weak stress and remain unmarked in this study. In addition, there are syllables that receive what Hall describes as an emphatic stress.[3] This has two forms: it can be simply an expulsion of air in a given syllable accomplished with greater energy than usual, that is, greater than the primary stress. It can also constitute a shifting of the stress to another syllable, the stressing of which will intensify the message with no referential difference, i.e. /dísattento/, DISattento, that is, 'definitely not attentive.'

There are also some instances where the occurrence of stress on different syllables in two events having identical segmental phonemes makes for the difference in meaning. Usually the different placement of stress will also be accompanied by different intonation contours. For example, the word occupáti, with the primary stress on the penult, represents the past participle of the verb occupare, inflected for number and gender. The word óccupati, however, with the primary stress on the third syllable from the last, is the second person singular of the imperative of the same verb, used reflexively.

One other phonetic event will have secondary importance in the definition of intonation contours. This event is a pause that may follow a given sequence. As a phonetic event, pauses regularly follow all final groups, be they questions, declarative sentences, exclamations or imperatives. They also occur after large non-final groups (and certain small ones) in declarative sentences.[4] Large and small non-final groups will be fully defined in Chapter III. Pauses will sometimes have phonemic function. As we will see, in some sequences of non-final groups in declarative sentences, the shifting of a pause from its position following one non-final group to a position following another such group in the same sequence will cause a difference in meaning. To summarize, then, we can say that three basic elements are needed for the phonetic description of intonation contours in spoken Italian: pitch, stress and the occurrence of pauses.

The next step involves relating the phonetic material to the segmental material. In the phonemic description, the contrastive nature of the four levels will be examined and the basic contours will be defined

in terms of form and function.

The Data: the data used for this study were samples of spoken Italian recorded from the Italian radio. The texts include a dramatization of Herman Melville's Billy Budd, two dramatizations of Italian history dealing with the Goths and the "Eruli", a play called La Foresta Petrificata (written originally in English by Robert Sherwood, with the title The Petrified Forest), and tapes recording speeches made by high-school teachers. The topic of these speeches concerned a comparison of American and Italian high-school teaching methods. The tapes were selected for the variety in the speech that they offered, from the straightforward, sequential material of the speeches to the varied and often exclamatory material of the different plays. The sequential material was transcribed orthographically on paper used for music notation. The pitch levels and primary stress marks were then added, along with the points at which pauses occurred. The data were them ready to be classified and analyzed.

III. Footnotes

1. Ernest F. Haden, A Syllabus for an Inservice Course in Applied Linguistics in French (Texas Education Agency Foreign Language Section, 1971), p.50.

2. Joseph H. Matluck, "Entonación Hispánica," Anuario de Letras, (Mexico: Facultad de Filosofia y Letras de la Unam, Ano V, 1965)p.9.

3. Robert A. Hall La Struttura dell'Italiano (Roma: Armando Editore, 1971) pp.48-50.

4. Large and small non-final groups will be fully defined in Chapter III.

5. A barbarian tribe that inhabited the Italian peninsula in the 6th century A.D.

IV.

The Phonemic Description

Part of the process of collecting data for this study consisted in assigning a pitch value to each syllable in the sequence, these pitch values ranging from 1 to 4 as mentioned. The primary stress points were also marked, along with the secondary ones when it was clear that their presence would be significant. At this stage, before the boundaries of a phonic group were established, a given sequence appeared thus:

2 2 4 4 2 2 3 3 3 1 1 1 1 1 1
Non è quésto che dobbiámo discútere, signóri. (B73)

The next step involved establishing, by observing the position of stress and the sequence of pitches, the boundaries of the individual phonic groups, by which intonation contours are necessarily defined, rather than in terms of a large sequence. In his study Entonación Hispánica, with regard to the definition of phonic groups in Spanish, Matluck gives an example of a full phonetic description, including all the pitch levels and stress points in a given sequence. He then says, however,

> para valoraciones fonemáticas no es menester el tono de todas las sílabas, son solamente de las que estan en lugar crítico para la comprensión; esto es, los lugares del grupo fónico en los cuales un cambio de tono pueda revelar algun cambio significante. 2

The same idea holds true for spoken Italian. When we talk about intonation contours, we are dealing with pitch levels that acquire their value mainly because they are in contrast with other pitch levels. In a given segmental sequence, a change of pitch level on a stressed syllable can result in a difference of meaning. Consider, for example, the

sentence:

Non è iniziáto il consíglio. (G58)

The sentence is received by the hearer as question if it has this sequence of pitches:

2 4 3 3 2 3 2 2 3 4
Non è iniziáto il consíglio.

and as a declarative statement with the following:

2 3 2 2 3 3 2 2 1 1
Non è iniziáto il consíglio.

In both examples, the points that will make a significant difference are especially the first and last stressed syllable of the group, that is:

4 3 3 1
è vs. è and consiglio vs. consiglio

As we will see, the difference in pitch on these two syllables will account partially for the difference in meaning. Also important in determining meaning and in defining the boundary of a contour are the first and last syllables of a given group. The intonation contours for the 2 groups described, then, are:

/2434/ for this particular question, and

/2311/ for this declarative sentence.

Four components make up the standard description of an intonation contour in Italian: the first and last stressed syllable of a phonic group and the first and last syllable of the same group. Due to the different lengths of phonic groups and to the placement of stress, intonation contours with three, two components (and rarely with one) result. The contour for the command Ascolta is

2 4 1
Ascólta /241/ (G62)

while the intonation contour for the exclamation Macche! in one instance was

4 1
Macché! /41/ (F 95)

Though the norm says that most Italian words are stressed on the penult, this possibility of varying stress also allows for variation in the description of intonation contours.

This, then, is how the phonic groups were determined whose intonation contours will be described. With particular regard to declarative sentences, we will see how phonic groups also coincide very regularly with syntactic divisions.

After the data had been collected, the phonic groups were determined and a system for classifying the contours was devised. The first part of this system, I, is made up of 2 main categories: A)overall falling intonation contours; and B)overall rising intonation contours. Under each one of these headings, the non-final groups of declarative sentences will be considered, along with all the manifestations of final contours, including: final groups in declarative sentences, questions requiring a yes/no answer, questions eliciting information, forms of the imperative (commands) and exclamation. The placement of stress will be referred to in terms of the classification A1, A2, A3 or B1, B2, B3, a classification which reflects the stress system in Italian. The A refers to the fact that the stress is found in a falling contour; the 1, 2, or 3 refers to the syllable (1 being the penult) on which a given word is stressed. We will say, for example, that the previously seen command
2 4 1
Ascólta! has an A1 stress, while the exclamation 4 2 1
Música! has an A2 stress. A second category, II, will be reserved for parenthetical utterances dependent on the main utterance. To summarize, then, we have:

I. A. Falling B. Rising

1. non-final	1. non-final
2. declarative	2. declarative
3. yes/no question	3. yes/no question
4. information question	4. information question
5. imperative	5. imperative
6. exclamation	6. exclamation

II. Parenthetical Utterances

1. Adverbs and Conjunctions
2. Vocatives

Incorporated with the description of the contours, will be a discussion of how the contours function contrastively to determine meaning. The examples cited are all selected fo. the texts to be found in the appendix. Each example may be referred to in context by means of the following system:

G - I Goti
E - Gli Eruli
B - Billy Budd
F - La Foresta Petrificata
C - Convegno Insegnanti

After each example, there will be a reference to the text and to the page on which the example may be found, i.e. G 58 or C 90.

B.1. Let us begin with the rising non-final groups found within declarative sentences. Consider, for example, the sentence:

2 3 3 2 3 3 2 3 3 3 3
I cortigiáni/atténdono/di éssere amméssi/al
3 4 3 4 3 2 3 3 2
cospétto del ré//per decídere/sulla sórte/del
3 4 4 2 3 / /
cónte d'Albíno//accusáto di tradiménto.# (G56)

In his study entitled "La leçon d'intonation de Simone de Beauvoir, étude d'intonation déclarative comparée,"[3] Delattre divides the intonation contours of non-final groups into 2 categories:

A) The contour ending small groups with partial meaning, and

B) The contour ending a larger group (not a final group) with a larger meaning.

A similar criterion has been applied here for Italian. The small non-final groups have been separated here by a single line following their last syllable. The large non-final groups are indicated by a double line following the last syllable. Final groups are indicated by # following the last syllable.

Small non-final groups go together in a declarative sentence to form large non-final groups, which in turn, along with a final contour, form delcarative sentences. The pause mentioned in Chapter III acquires importance here as a criterion mainly for defining the large non-final groups in declarative sentences as such, and hence distinguishing them from small non-final groups. Large non-final groups with either rising or falling intonation are regularly followed by a pause. This, along with intonation, substantiates the idea that one major group of meaning is finished and that a continuation can be expected. There are a few small non-final groups with rising intonation that are followed by a pause. We will examine them later.

The small non-final group with rising intonation and without a pause following, is most often characterized by what consists in a rise from level 2 to level 3. Due to stress placement and the length of the given phonic group, this rise may be represented by several variants. The sentences 1 - 4 are all examples of this intonation contour:

1. Ma questo stesso passato//visto nella sua totalità
   rivela anche/il movénte/di tutti i suoi atteggia-
   menti.# contour /233/ (G57)

2. Non mi preoccupa tanti/il re/quanto i suoi consilieri// contour /23/ (G57)

3. I cortigiani/attendono/di essere ammessi/ contour /2333/ (G56)

4. Comunque/io sono del parere/che è meglio... contour /2233/ (G57)

There is also an intonation contour in this category of small non-final rising without pause that takes the form /3233/.

Non mi preoccupa tanto/

This can be considered a variant on the 2-3 type, despite the initial level 3. This group of contours characterized any small non-final rising group, and has no one specific environment. On the other hand, the small non-final rising contours that are accompanied by a pause constitute a special group with few representatives. They are found, for the most part, in initial positions, again having the basic contour 2-3. For example,

1. Fino ad oggi/Teodorico ha difeso l'Italia. contour /233/ (G57)

2. Ma questo stesso passato/visto nella sua totalità contour /2423/ (G57)

3. Ma nel cinque cento venti quattro/quando l'imperatore d'Oriente Giustino/ contour /2233/ (G56)

4. /che tornava alla sua corte/e da quei Romani/ che restarono ciecamente attaccati a lui.# contour /2233/ (G56)

Two other initial occurrences of this group, having different intonation contours, are:

5. Secóndo té/figlio mio/allora/non ci resterebbe nessuna speranza.# contour /323/ (G57)

still having a final rise /23/ and

6. Quantúnque/debbo basare le mie deduzioni... contour /423/ (G57)

With the exception of examples 3 and 4, it is easy to see how a pause, usually reserved for a large non-final group, would fit in an initial position, even though small. Examples 5 and 6 of this category of small non-final groups accompanied by a pause are closely related to the parenthetical utterances that we will consider later, and in fact, may be more accurately classified as such.

The most common shape for a large non-final contour followed by a pause is either a rise from level 2 to level 4 or from level 3 to level 4. For example:

1. Tornò ad essere/il feróce conquistatóre// contour /2344/ (G56)
2. conquistatore/stimolato in questo/anche dall'elemento ostrogoto/che tornáva alla sua córte// contour /3344/ (G56)

Variants on these two basic types include:

3. Favorendolo/nei conflítti di natúra religiósa// tra Roma e Costantinopoli.# contour /2244/ (G56)
4. divisi com'erano/i due pópoli//

contour /244/ (G56)

5. con il pontefice//cominciò a persecutare gli Ariani// contour /3244/ (G56)

6. Ariani//Teodorico reagì//attaccando i Cattolici.#
contour /324/ (G56)

7. perche è stato/l'Imperatore d'Oriente//a negargli
contour /3444/ (G57)

8. I cortigiani/attendono/di essere ammessi/al cospetto del re//
contour /334/ (G56)

9. Non vedo come Teodorico/potrebbe addossare a noi//
contour /344/ (G57)

10. Ma nel cinque cento venti quattro/
contour /3434/ (G56)

There are a few isolated occurrences of large rising non-final groups without pauses. It is important to note that all of these examples precede the final group, which may account for their lack of pause. That is, since they occur just before the final group, there may be a natural tendency to omit the pause. There are large non-final groups followed by pauses that precede the final group, so this remains speculative. They are:

1. Non dimentichiamo che Teodorico//ha sempre desiderato/di diventare//l'Imperatore d'Occidente.#
contour /344/ (G57)

2. perche è stato/l'Imperatore d'Oriente//a negargli sempre/l'investitura//da lui tanto desiderata.#

contour /344/ (G57)

3. /non posso capire/questa sua svolta/così
repentina//nei nostri confronti.#

contour /2344/ (G57)

A.1. For the small non-final groups with a falling contour and no pause, the most common occurrence is a descent from level 3 to level 2. This basic descent, however, has several curious variants. One whole group of contours in this category has its starting point at level 2, ascends to 3 and then descends to 2:

1. Mai avrei creduto che/l'amato/venerato/Teodorico//

contour /232/ (G56)

2. //e l'elemento romano/si schierò/in favore del'
l'Imperatore d'Oriente.# contour /2322/ (G56)

3. //e ci darà//la chiara visione/della situazione.#

contour /2332/ (G57)

The other contours in this group start on level 3 directly. For example:

1. Gli riuscì impossibile//divisi com'erano/i due
popoli//nei costumi/e nella civiltà//

contour /322/ (G56)

2. e da quei Romani//che restarono/ciecamente
attaccati/a lui.#

contour /3222/ (G56)

3. //sulle cause/dell'imprigionamento/d'Albino//

contour /332/ (G57)

Still descending from 3 to 2, three other variants rise to 4 before descending to 2:

1. La reazione di Teodorico/tornò ad essere/
   contour /3242/ (G56)
2. per noi Romani//la vita/non sarà facile/da
   questo momento.# contour /342/ (G56)
3. e quella sessione/che egli cercava/di effettuare
   contour /3422/ (G56)

It would appear that the presence of level 4 in these contours is for stylistic reasons. It is there to emphasize even more the stressed syllable of the most important word in the group. The same criterion seems to apply to three other contours that occur in the small non-final falling groups:

1. Io non credo/che la colpa/sia tutta di Teodorico.
   contour /343/ (G56)
2. È giusto/che sconti/la sua pena.#
   contour /432/ (G57)
3. //debbo basare/le mie deduzioni//solo su quanto/
   si supponga. contour /433/ (G57)

There are also some small non-final falling groups that have a pause following them. As with the rising contours of the same type, the presence of the pause seems to be justified by the fact that most of these groups are found in initial positions.

1. Quantunque/la seduta/dovrebbe già essere/stata
   aperta.# contour /243/ (G58)
2. Comunque/ciò non toglie
   contour/ 232/ (G56)
3. A proposito/Severino/ho terminato ieri

contour /422/ (G58)

Large non-final groups with falling intonation and a pause following can take their departure from level 2 or from level 3. It is important to note that those that start at level 2, however, will universally rise to 3 or 4 before ending. For example:

1. debbo basare/le mie deduzioni/solo su quanto si supponga contour /2243/ (G57)
2. se un giorno/ce l'avéssero détto// contour /2322/ (G56)
3. ci impone/un'única decisióne// contour /2442/ (B73)

Considering that the first syllable of each example is unstressed, these contours can almost be considered as descending from 3 or 4. There are 4 variants, however, that do begin on level 3:

1. ormai pacificatosi/con il pontéfice// contour /332/ (G56)
2. Comunque/io sono del parere/che è méglio atténdere// contour /3432/ (G57)

In number 2, as in the following one, the presence of level 4 is for stronger emphasis on the affected syllable.

Sembra che voi senatori/abbiáte dimenticáto// contour /3443/ (G58)

The last example is particularly indicative of the function of level 4, since the utterance occurs in a highly oratorical situation. In a less dramatic situation, the contour for this segment would be something more conservative, perhaps /3232/.

There areonly three examples of descending large non-final groups that occur without a pause. Again, as with the examples with rising contours, one of these directly precedes a final group:

1. E sopratutto a noi senatori//ai quali egli riconóbbe sempre//antica autorità.#

   contour /2432/ (G57)

2. e ho visto il pericolo/che una sedizione/può rappresentare/per la flotta.#

   contour /2432/ and /243/ (B73)

This concludes the description of the large and small non-final groups that occur within declarative sentences. The description by itself is useful as a representation of intonation activity in declarative sentences. This is not all, however. There are several contours that ahve been described that belong both to small non-final groups and to large non-final groups. It was mentioned before that the pause following the large non-final groups (with the exception of those special situations described for small non-final groups accompanied by a pause) would somee times be instrumental in determining meaning. Let us consider the example:

Ma nel cinque cento venti quattro//
quando l'imperatore d'Oriente Giustino//
ormai pacificatosi/con il pontefice//
cominciò a perseguitare gli Ariani//
Teodorico reagì/attaccando i Cattolici.# (G56)

What is interesting is the difference in meaning that results from shifting the location of the pause: when it occurs, as in the original, after pontefice, as recorded here, it conveys the idea that Giustino had made

peace with the pope. When, however, it shifts to follow the word pacificatosi:

2 3 3 3 3 3 2
ormai pacificatosi//con il pontefice/
cominciò a persecutare

it has the idea that together, Giustino and the pope persecuted the Aryans. The point lies partly in the shifting of the pause, and in the fact that the contour of con il pontefice, that is, /332/, can occur both in large non-final groups and in small ones. Another example occurs in the sequence:

2 3 3 2 2 2
e da quei Romani//che restavano/
3 2 2 2 2 1
ciecamente attaccati/a lui.// (G56)

The group e da quei Romani, even though being a small non-final, is accompanied by a pause. If the pause is shifted, however, to after restavano, da quei Romani will behave like a normal small non-final group without pause, /233/. The result will be a change in meaning. In the first instance, the idea is that the Romans had stayed blindly attached to Teodorico. With the shift in stress, however, Romani is qualified by restavano implying that only a few stayed and they were blindly attached. The point is that though a long non-final group and a short non-final may have the same intonation contour, confusion is avoided by means of the pause. It generally characterizes large non-final groups, but can result in a difference in meaning when applied to small non-final ones having the same shape as the large ones. Some contrast between the two non-final groups, of course, is also created by pitch levels. Small non-final groups with a rising contour never attain level 4 and rarely depart from level 4 with a falling contour. Their domain, with the exception of an occasional

syllable particularly stressed, is in between levels 2 and 3. The large non-final groups, on the other hand, rarely stop at level 3 when ascending, usually reaching 4. Because of initial unstressed syllables, as in /2442/, it could be said that they sometimes start from 4 when descending, but usually from 3.

A.2. The most common form that the final group of a declarative sentence takes, that is, when it is descending, is a fall from level 2 to level 1, on successive stressed syllables. That is, partly due to the fact that very few Italian words receive that primary stress on the initial syllable of a group, very often the first pitch level in a group may be on level 1. The first stressed syllable will be on level 2, however, and it is from that point that the contour begins. Examples of this contour are:

1. /in quali condizioni/ho trovato/l'Itália # (G58)
   contour /(1)21/
2. ce l'avessero detto//non l'avrémmo creduto # (G56)
   contour /2211/
3. ciecamente attaccati/a lúi.# (G56)
   contour /21/

Another similar contour that occurs in final groups of declarative sentences is /221/:

4. per riaccendere/il focolàio # (B73)
   contour /221/

It will be noticed that the following four examples reach level 3 before descending to level 1. In all of these cases, the initial syllable on level 2 is again unstressed, so that these examples may be more justly related to the contours that start on level 3.

5. di diventare/l'Imperatore d'Occidente#

   contour /2311/ (G57)

6. per il benessere/dell'Italia#

   contour /231/ (G58)

7. il tuo ultimo scritto//e ti debbo dire/
   che mi è piaciuto#

   contour /2321/ (G58)

8. alle materie artistiche/nel curriculum educativo//

   contour /2331/ (C100)

It is clear, for example, how a level 3 may be used in this last example, on the penult of educativo to oppose that word and the word artistiche which precedes. This contour might otherwise simply descend from the first stressed syllable on level 3 to level 1, with no change in meaning. Another good example of this is:

dell'arte/dell'artigianato/e della música.#

contour /2341/ (C100)

There are several final contours in declarative sentences that start immediately on level 3. It is important to see that again, the presence of level 3 in these examples serves to heighten the importance of the syllable in question. The placement of stress already does part of the job and the addition of a level 3 pitch on a syllable that could just as easily take level 2 without a semantic difference draws the desired attention. Examples of this category are:

1. è veramente/incredíbile#

   contour /311/ (G56)

2. /l'atteggiamento di Teodorico//

3 2 3 1
lascia molto perplessi#

contour /3231/ (G57)

3 2 1
3. //Teodorico/ha difeso/l'Italia#

contour /321/ (G57)

3 2 1 1
4. /ad un mestiere//o ad una professione#

contour /3211/ (C)

3 3 1
5. Ha amato/la giustizia#

contour /331/ (G57)

3 3 2 1
6. Quel delitto di Albino/però/è di altra natura#

contour /3321/ (G57)

Because of the presence of level 1, instrumental in determining the nature of final contours in declarative sentences, these final contours are in no contrast with the falling non-final groups.

A.3. The next category of utterances whose intonation patterns are to be described is that of the questions requiring a yes or a no answer. This category is distinct from another one made up of the questions that elicit information. It is essential to point out that the majority of yes/no questions have rising intonation. Those that have falling intonation can more accurately be described as postulates eliciting corroboration. Hence, it will soon be noticed that a question requiring yes/no answer will very often have segmental material identical to that of a declarative statement. For example, consider the sentence:

Posso far firma.

As a declarative statement, this example might have the intonation contour /311/:

3 1 1
Posso far firma.

As a question requiring a yes/no answer, however, the contour has the following shape:

Posso far firma? contour /441/ (F92)

It is clear, then, that the task now is not only to describe the basic intonation contours and their variants, but also in what way intonation works to help avoid ambiguity between 2 events, a question and a declarative sentence, that have identical segmental material. This was discussed earlier in the case of potential contrast between small non-final groups and large non-final groups in declarative sentences. Now along with the pure description of the contours belonging not only to questions, but also to imperative forms and exclamations, it will acquire even greater importance.

The first basic contour that characterizes yes/no questions with descending intonation consists of a fall from level 2 to level 1. Again, however, with the initial syllable on level 2 being unstressed and with a consistent rise after that to either a level 3 or 4, it can be more precisely said that the actual descent is from 3 or 4 to 1. Examples of this category are:

1. Vi dispiace se parlo io,/cara?
   contour /2331/ (F95)
2. Avete altro? contour /2341/ (F90)
3. Non sai dove sei nato? contour /2411/ (B75)
4. I fatti si sono svolti veramente così?
   contour /241/ (B72)

Contours that have their first syllable, be it stressed or unstressed, on level 3, also characterize yes/no questions:

3 3 3 1
5. Me la restituerete?

contour /3331/ (F90)

And two other contours start on level 4:

4 4 1
6. Posso far firma? contour /441/ (F92)

4 3 3 1
7. Non vedete che faccio sul serio?

contour /4331/ (F91)

It will have been noticed that all of the examples cited could be declarative sentences as far as the segmental material is concerned. What is essential to notice is the central role of level 4. Even though the final group of a declarative sentence may have a contour beginning at level 2, rising to level 3 and then descending to 1, there are no finals in declarative sentences that ever reach level 4. Compare, for example,

2 4 1
I fatti si sono svolti veramente così?

contour /241/ (B72)

with the corresponding declarative:

2 3 1
I fatti si sono svolti veramente così.

contour /231/

Or, compare the question:

2 3 4 1
Avete altro? contour /2341/ (F90)

with the statement:

3 2 3 1
Avete altro. contour /3231/

There are also several contours in the category of yes/no questions that do not descend to level 1:

2 3 2 3 1
Non è vero, Allan? contour /232/ (F86)

4 2
adesso potremmo andarcene?

contour /2342/ (F91)

3. Credéte che io abbia scherzáto, fórse?

   contour /2343/ (F94)

4. l'avréste fátto? contour /2432/ (F86)

5. Me la restituerete? E il mío bagáglio?

   contour /3142/ (F90)

6. Pensáte ancora che faccio per rídere?

   contour /4333/ (F97)

Still of central importance is level 4.

A.4. The first basic contour for information questions with falling intonation is a descent from level 2 to level 1. As seen before, most of the initial syllables on level 2 are unstressed. The various manifestations of this basic contour are:

1. Che cósa c'è? contour /231/ (F87)
2. E cóme potrei farlo altriménti?

   contour /2311/ (F92)

3. Ma che cósa importa? contour /2321/ (F92)
4. E ché ne díte? contour /2341/ (B78)
5. Ma quále tradimento mai compíuto?

   contour /2441/ (G58)

6. E ché cos'è? contour /241/ (F93)
7. E dóve sono le ragázze? contour /2411/ (B79)

It is with this group of examples that potential contrast with declarative finals again arises, in terms of two groups of segmentals sharing identical intonation contours, namely: /231/, /2311/, and /2321/. It is important to point briefly that the distinctive criterion in these cases is not so much intonation as the presence of an interrogative word or

construction which universally characterizes information questions with falling intonation. The other contours in this category start on level 3 or level 4. They, however, will be in potential conflict with imperative forms and exclamations with which they may share identical segmental material. Examples of information questions with basic contour /31/ are:

1. Che vuoi/Tottila?

   contour /31/ (G62)

2. Che ne volete fare?

   contour /3311/ (F90)

And examples representing the basic contour /41/ are:

1. Quanto potreste dare?

   contour /411/ (F90)

2. Come fai a star qui?

   contour /421/ (B78)

3. Chi lo sa? contour /41/ (G56)

4. E perche no? contour /431/ (F97)

It is very important to note that in all of the examples save number 4, the interrogative word, essentially the most important word in the sequence, has the highest pitch and is in the initial position. Also, in the examples where the first syllable is unstressed, the interrogative word will be found later in the sentence, still, however, with the highest pitch. The function of level 3 or 4 in information questions is therefore clearly demonstrated: they have the function of giving prominence to the word upon which the question hinges.

There are three examples of information questions with contours that descend only to level 2. Their not descending to level 1 does not

appear to have significance:

1. Ma che cósa vi salta in ménte, eh?

   contour /2442/ (F88)

2. Cóme avete détto? contour /242/ (F97)

3. Cóme può essere accusato di tradiménto?

   contour /432/ (G58)

A.5. The next group of falling intonation contours to examine are those characterizing the imperative forms in spoken Italian. It is with this group and with the exclamations that we will see the central importance of level 4 in distinguishing the contours. The first basic contour for an imperative form again starts on level 2 but quickly rises to the first stressed syllable which is on level 3 or 4, to then descend to 1:

1. Andáte in Francia! contour /2341/ (F96)
2. Torniámo al nostro cáso!

   contour /2411/ (B74)

3. Parláte púre! contour /2421/ (B81)
4. Trovate voi stéssa! contour /2441/ (F96)

There are several other examples that start on level 2, rise to 3 or 4, but then only descend to 2:

1. Salviámoci di quá! contour /242/ (F92)
2. Raccógli i guerriéri! contour /2442/ (G63)
3. In álto le máni! contour /2342/ (F88)
4. Ascólta il piánto del mio esército.

   contour /2332/ (G62)

The last example is probably explained by the fact that the sentence was

spoken very softly. The presence of level 4 rather than 3 on the stressed syllables of contours whose first syllable is on level 2 (unstressed) is for emphatic purposes.

The majority of the imperative contours start on 3 or 4, the basic contour being /31/ or /41/. As for those that start on 3, examples are:

1. Stiámo attenti! contour /341/ (E68)
2. Speriámolo! contour /321/ (E70)

Examples that begin at level 4 are:

1. Datemi una próva! contour /411/ (B82)
2. Sentíte un po'/amico mio.#
   contour /441/ (F90)
3. Portáteli quí! contour /431/ (F90)
4. Non fraintendétemi! contour /431/ (B82)

There seems to be no phonemic difference between the descending intonation contours of imperatives that start on 3 and on 4.

Descending imperatives and yes/no questions can sometimes have the same segmental material, with only the intonation contours to differentiate between them. Before giving examples, it is necessary to point out that, due to peculiarities in Itaian inflection, what in one instance is an imperative form, may be an indicative form in another. The form prepara, for example, represents the third person singular of the present indicative, as well as the second person singular imperative form. Intonation obviously has a central role in distinguishing the two. For example,

Prepára il tuo sácco! (B75)

with the contour /2441/ represents an informal, singular command. This same sentence becomes a yes/no question with the contour /3233/:

Prepára il tuo sácco?

The central means of distinction here is that this yes/no question belongs to the category with overall rising intonation, to be dealt with presently. It is clear that the contrast in pitch levels, either individually or in an overall manner, is instrumental in determining meaning. This example could also easily be a declarative sentence:

Prepára il tuo sácco.

with the contour /2321/. Again the presence of level 4 helps make the difference between an imperative and a declarative. Another example is:

Cérca di rispóndere! (B83)

which with the contour /341/ is a command, with the contour /321/ it becomes a declarative sentence:

Cérca di risóndere.

and with the contour /344/ becomes a yes/no question:

Cérca di risóndere?

A.6. The last group in the general category of descending contours concerns exclamation. The exclamations raise some special problems, for various reasons. We will see, for example, that though there are some exclamations that are segmentally unique, i.e. Macchè!, for the most part, they are segmentally identical to declarative sentences, commands and questions that have been encountered. The role of intonation is essential in distinguishing exclamations from these other events, and level 4 will be of central importance. In many cases, were it not for level 4, the contours would be no different from others already described.

The first group includes contours that start on level 2, rise to 4 and then descend to 1 or 2. By far the most common is the contour /241/.

1. Maledétti! contour /241/ (F89)
2. Silénzio! contour /241/ (B75)

Other variants of this type include:

3. Santo Iddío, è ubriáco! contour /2411/ (F91)
4. Io sto béne dappertútto! contour /2341/ (B78)

Examples with the first syllable on level 3 include:

1. E vái al diávolo,/tú! contour /3241/ (B79)
2. Incredíbile! contour /341/ (E69)

There are some examples of exclamations that begin on level 2 or 3, but after a rise to 4, only descend to level 2, with no apparent phonemic difference:

1. In álto le máni! contour /2342/ (F88)
2. Al diávolo la Francia! contour /2442/ (F95)
3. Che orrore! contour /242/ (E70)
4. Disgraziato! contour /342/ (B83)

The basic contour most represented in this category is by far the one which begins on level 4 and descends to level 1. Examples of the variants are:

1. Ecco! contour /41/ (E68)
2. Musica! Musica! contour /41/ (B79)
3. Sta sorpassándo tutti gli áltri!
   contour /4341/ (E69)
4. Whísky per tútti! contour /441/ (F93)

As mentioned, many exclamations resemble declarative sentences segmentally. Consider the sentence:

Io sto bene dappertutto.

The contour of this sentence as a declarative would be /3211/:

3 2 1 1
Io sto bene dappertutto.

Compare this to the exclamatory intonation /2341/. We see that level 4 emphasizes the stressed syllable of the most important word in the sequence, in this interpretation of it. Another interpretation might single out the Io with a level 4.

A similar example is found with the information question having the contour /234/:

2 3 4
Quanto vorreste per lasciarci uscire di qui? (F90)

This same sentence will be understood as an exclamation, however, if the contour is /431/:

4 3 1
Quanto vorreste per lasciarci uscire di qui!

It is necessary to avoid confusion between exclamations, and declarative sentences, questions, commands or imperatives that by means of an emphatic stress and the presence of level 4 on the most important syllable of the group, have simply an exclamatory quality. Examples of the latter are, for a declarative sentence:

3 4 2
1. Non penso a me. contour /342/ (F95)

for an information question:

4 1 1
2. Che hai fatto? contour /411/ (B83)

and for a command:

4 4 1 1
3. E state zitti. contour /441/ (B77)

B.2. The intonation contours of the non-final groups in

declarative sentences were described in an earlier discussion. We are now concerned with the rising contours of final groups, that is, of declarative sentences, yes/no questions, information questions, imperatives and exclamations.

There are very few examples of declarative sentences with rising finals. It is not all coincidental that all of the examples end with a word that is necessarily stressed on the last syllable, a word that is usually the most important in the group, which accounts for its higher pitch level. For example,

1. in buona fede/e in mala fede/dei nóstri marinái.#
   contour /122/ (B73)
2. dell'imprigionamento/di Albino//non sía
   la verità.# contour /122/ (G57)
3. //ai quali riconobbe sempre/l'antíca autorità.#
   contour /123/ (G57)
4. e di fatto//veraménte ré#
   contour /323/ (G57)

These contours are saved from potential conflict with rising non-final contours by a more prolonged pause following them than that which follows any non-final group.

B.3. The largest group of rising final contours is composed of yes/no questions. The basic contours involve a rise from 2 to 3 or from 2 to 4. As was mentioned before, many yes/no questions share identical segmental material with declarative sentences. In this category of rising contours, confusion is easily avoided by the simple fact of a rise at the end of the sequence, a rise which is seen to be fairly rare

in declarative sentence finals. In yes/no questions, it has several manifestations. For the contour /23/ or /33/, we find:

1. Vi pare che la polizza sia in regola?

   contour /2333/ (F93)

which might be contrasted with the declarative sentence:

   Vi pare che la polizza sia in regola.

   contour /2321/

2. Non avete più voglia?

   contour /2323/ (B79)

3. Si festeggia qualche cosa?

   contour /2423/ (B79)

In some examples of the rise from 2 to 4, the presence of level 4 serves to further emphasize the message, as in the answer to the statement Vorrei parlare col vecchio:

1. Con me? contour /24/ (F87)

or in the question:

2. Lo sapete che cos'è? contour /234/ (F93)

In another example, it does not seem to have this emphatic value, however:

1. Non è iniziato il consiglio?

   contour /2434/ (G58)

Rising intonation in the general category of yes/no questions also occurred in a sub-group of choice questions, i.e.:

1. Volevate colpirlo alla mano/

   o avete sbagliato il colpo?

   contour /2344/ (F89)

For examples that begin on level 3, we find:

1. E i cacciatori si convertírono?

   contour /3233/ (B 78)

2. Aspettáte forse di morire?

   contour /3224/ (F 90)

3. É un segréto? contour /344/ (B 79)

As mentioned before, yes/no questions can have identical segmental material as imperatives, but any potential ambiguity can be resolved by means of intonation. The imperative form

Vái con lóro, Jáckie (F 89)

with the contour /231/ and a high pitch on the most important syllable, becomes a question with the contour /344/:

Vái con lóro?

There are two examples of contours belonging to yes/no questions that are identical to contours previously described as final ones: /2331/ and /2311/. Actually, the element of question is constituted by the intonation on words that follow the main body of the utterance:

1. Volète diventáre una grande pittríce/no? (F 95)
2. Vi dispiáce se parlo ío,/cára? (F 95)

B.4. Information questions do not provide many examples that have rising contours. The basic contours are, however, /23/, /24/, and /34/.

1. Che cos'è che ve lo fa pensáre?

   contour /2333/ (F 86)

2. Quánto vorréste per lasciarci uscire di quí?

   contour /234/ (F 90)

3. in che cósa posso servírvi?

contour /2344/ (B74)

4. Ma quándo arriverà?

contour /244/ (G63)

5. E che dísse ancóra?

contour /3344/ (B77)

The high pitch levels attained in these examples do seem to have some emphatic value. It is interesting to note that falling intonation previously described for information questions could be effectively applied to any one of these examples. Doing this would shift the emphasis from the syllables having level 4 pitch to other syllables. For example,

Quánto vorréste per lasciarci uscire di quí?

contour /431/

or:

E che dísse ancóra? contour /3411/

With low pitch on late syllables, the emphasis is removed. In the first example, the important word is either qui or quanto, depending on the position of level 4, and the same applies to the second example. Though the segmental information is identical, the meaning is slightly different.

B.5. Imperative forms are chiefly characterized by falling intonation. There are some examples of imperative forms with rising intonations. They seem to appear in particular environments. The following two examples have rising intonation because there is more than one command in the sequence:

1. Raccógli gli uómini/e accompágnali verso il súd.#

contours /3244...341/ (G62)

2. Pórtati diétro quella córda//légalo ben béne//

poi lascialo là#

contours /3344...344...241/ (F 89)

It is obvious that the last is really the command. The other two are quite similar to large non-final groups in declarative sentences. Another example of a rising intonation in an imperative also functions this way:

3. E ora, credetemi/ contour /244/ (B 76)

In fact, this instance is almost more like an initial parenthetical utterance than a command which might have the contour:

Credetemi! contour /241/

B06. Falling intonation is also the hallmark of exclamations. Only one example of an exclamation with a rising intonation was found;

Macchè! contour /24/ (F 95)

which in the context might be easily taken for a question spoken with some volume. It follows the yes/no question "Avresti sempre in mente quel certo viaggio in Francia?" and is followed by the exclamation "Al diavolo la Francia!" and is therefore modified much like the non-final "commands" above.

II. Parenthetical Utterances

The last group of utterances whose intonation contours we will examine and describe is that of parenthetical utterances. Basically, these are the sequences which follow, precede or interrupt the main body of a given utterance. We will find that, though the role of these events is generally to reinforce the main body of the sentence, only occasionally are they indispensable. The examples found in the data for this study can be divided into two main categories: vocatives, of which there were a great number, and a group mainly composed of adverbs and conjunctions,

represented by such words as comunque, quantunque, anzi, però. We will consider the latter category first.

Adverbs and Conjuctions

1. Examples in this category were found, for the most part, in positions preceding declarative sentences. They occur both with rising and falling intonation contours. The basic rising contour for those preceding declarative sentences was /23/ or /24/:

1. Eppúre/se un giorno ce l'avessero detto, non l'avremmo creduto. (G56)
2. Quantúnque/debbo basare le mie opinioni (G57)
3. In questo cáso/l'operato di Teodorico non sarebbe (G57)

The basic falling contour for those preceding declarative sentences was /32/ or /42/:

1. Anzi/ad essere sinceri, Cipriano è più pericoloso. (G56)
2. Comúnque/io sono del parere che è meglio attendere (G57)
3. Comúnque/ciò non toglie che la situazione non sia (G56)
4. A propósito/Severino, ho terminato ieri di leggere (G58)

There seems to be a slight difference between a rising or falling contour in these situations. It was noticed, that in those having a rising contour the adverbial seemed to prepare the listener for a change or disagreement in the topic of conversation. With those having a falling

intonation, on the other hand, the adverbial seems to reinforce and strengthen what precedes and certainly what follows.

Declarative sentences provided the most examples of preceding parenthetical utterances that are not vocatives. Yes/no questions offered a few examples, i.e.

1. Allóra/posso far firma? (F92)

Parenthetical utterances in this group were also commonly found following declarative sentences and yes/no and information questions. When following declarative sentences, they tended to remain on the level to which the decalrative contour had descended:

1. //e successivamente/la vóstra/crédo# (B76)

Most of the utterances that preceded declarative sentences had some emphatic value in terms of indicating what followed in the main part of the sentence. Those that follow also tend to repeat and reinforce what has already been said.

Parenthetical utterances following yes/no questions often have a central phonemic role. It was pointed out earlier that yes/no questions often share identical segmental material with declarative sentences. It was also seen that yes/no questions with descending intonation are more postulates than questions. The following examples show that, without rising parenthetical utterances following the main body of the sentence, they would be heard as declarative sentences. Every example has descending intonation in the main part of the sentence:

1. Ti hánno arruolato di fórza/nó? (B80)
2. Anche mé,/sai? (B80)
3. Credéte che io abbia scherzáto,/fórse? (F94)

The utterances following the main body of the sentence in these examples are usually known as tag-questions. They are not really parenthetical, as such, since they have the duty of determining the interrogative nature of the sentence. It is interesting to compare these examples to one where the intonation contour of the main body is rising, and the parenthetical utterance has falling intonation:

Non è mica pázzo,/per cáso? (F92)

In this case, since the intonation in the main body of the sentence established it as a question, the parenthetical utterance has no place in defining the nature of the sentence.

Few examples of parenthetical utterances following information questions were found in the data. The example cited resembles the last one given, in that the contour of the main part of the utterance establishes the interrogative nature of the sentence:

Dóve volete arrivàre,/insómma.? (F91)

The only examples of parenthetical utterances that interrupted the main body of the sentence in the middle, were found in declarative sentences. They had the contour /23/, or /11/:

1. ...il patriarca Antino ha/secóndo nói/
   perfettamente ragione.# (G61)
2. Non tutti gli Italiáni,/però (G60)
3. Ánche la popolazione romána,/però/ (G60)

There does not appear to be any phonemic difference between these examples.

Vocatives

2. The second group of examples included in the category of parenthetical utterances are the vocatives. Due to the fact that a large

percentage of the texts from which the examples were taken were dialogues, vocatives were abundant. They did not occur frequently in the middle of an utterance, the largest number being found after the main sentence. A few examples were found to precede. The majority of vocatives also had falling contours.

When following a declarative sentence, the basic contour is /21/:

1. E questa gioia poi pagò con la morte/Patriarca Antíno.# (G60)
2. È tutt'opera mia,/signóra Chísholm.# (F94)

It will be noticed that these vocatives have contours similar or identical to those described for declàrative finals, or they continue on the level reached by that final, i.e.

3. Voi siete un galantuómo,/amíco.

The vocatives following yes/no questions raise some interesting questions in this respect. As we saw previously, often yes/no questions will share identical segmental material with declarative sentences. The potential conflict with a declarative setnence is avoided by using intonation in the body of the question, and reinforced in the vocative:

1. Vi páre che la polizza sia in règolà,/nonnino? contour /213/ (F93)
2. Farète quel che vi chiédo,/Dúke? contour /23/ (F92)

Often, the intonation contour of the yes/no question will fall, and the vocative will follow suit:

1. Séi ferito,Bózi? contour /21/ (F88)

2. Vi dispiáce se parlo ío, cára?

contour /32/ (F95)

Vocatives also follow information questions, with the basic contours /31/ or /21/. Again, it is interesting to see how they reinforce the contour of the question:

1. Che vuoi, Tóttila?

contour /31/ (G62)

2. Ma chí può dírlo,/nónno?

contour /21/ (F95)

3. E pérche nó/signóra mía?

contour /2331/ (F96)

There are a few examples in this group of contours on one pitch level; with no apparent phonemic difference from others:

1. Chí lo sá,/Símmacco? contour /111/ (G56)
2. Ché dici mái,/Patriárca? contour /111/ (G60)

Imperative forms may also be followed by vocatives again with the basic contour /31/ or /21/. Even though they do not usually start on the same level as the command itself, their falling nature reinforces the command.

1. Non affaticárti,/Tóttila contour /31/ (G62)
2. Díte un pó',/padróne. contour /211/ (F89)
3. Sentíte,/ragázzi. contour /121/ (B78)

There are some examples of contours on one pitch level, apparently only with phonetic difference:

1. Díte un pó',/padróne. contour /111/ (F92)
2. Sentíte,/Állan contour /11/ (F97)

Few vocatives were found before questions, those few having falling intonation, either /31/ or /21/:

1. Semplício,/vedi tu qualcosa?
   contour /321/ (E 70)
2. Tenénte/avete riflettuto alle conseguenze
   contour /211/ (B 84)

It is possible to imagine others with this form. It could also probably occur with a rising intonation contour.

Some of these vocatives occurred in the middle of a declarative sentence. They largely resemble small non-final groups accompanied by pauses; and are confined principally to rise from 2 to 3, or a descent from 3 to 2.

1. Se quanto tu dici/Boézio/è vero//
   contour /232/ (G 57)
2. Non vi dev'essere,/Maestà/pace alcuna
   contour /23/ (G 61)

Vocatives also occurrinternally both in yes/no questions and in information questions, but with few examples:

1. In base a quali colpe/Cipriáno/credi tu
   contour /121/ (G 58)
2. Ma perche mai/Giunio Básso/né Oreste
   contour /233/ (E 65)
3. Ma capisci/cáro/che stiamo per assistere
   contour /21/ (F 94)

IV. Footnotes

1. Joseph A. Matluck "Entonación Hispánica," Anuario de Letras (Mexico: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Unam, Año V, 1965), p.13.

2. Ibid., p.13.

3. Pierre Delattre, "La Leçon de Simone de Beauvoir, étude d'Intonation déclarative comparée," French Review, 35, 1 (1961) pp.59-67.

4. Pierre Delattre, "Les Dix Intonations de base du français," French Review, 40, 1 (1966) p.10; pp.12-13.

V. Conclusion

The contours have been described in terms of their basic shapes and variants and in reference to the environments in which they occur. The contrastive function of the pitch levels has also been described, insofar as a different pitch level in the same segmental environment corresponds to a difference in meaning. Phonetic and phonemic inventories of the basic intonation contours in Italian follow. It is clear that other basic contours and variants may be present in the language. The spoken Italian that formed the data for this study were characterized by these contours. It is necessary to bear in mind that the data were rather special, coming from prepared scripts and speeches for public consumption. There may be events that take place in ordinary conversation that were not described here.

The following list summarizes the basic intonation contours in Italian. There are some contours that have been included in the phonemic inventory on account of their frequent occurrence. They do not have a phonemic function, rather an emphatic one, but they are often as commonly found as the basic contour described for a given category. The basic contours with phonemic function will be distinguished by / /. The phonetic variants will be enclosed by [ ].

Large and small non-final groups in declarative sentences are characterized both by rising and falling variants which are not in contrast with each other. Declarative sentence finals are characterized by falling intonation. Rising intonation was encountered in rare circumstances, for emphatic purposes. As mentioned before, yes/no questions with falling

intonation can be more accurately described as postulates eliciting corroboration. Their intent is therefore different from yes/no questions with rising intonation. Information questions are characterized by falling intonation and have rising intonation for emphatic purposes. Commands are also characterized by falling intonation, the basic contour being /41/. /31/ is also a very common variant which is not in phonemic contrast with /41/. The situation is analogous for exclamation.

1. Small non-final groups: (in declarative sentences)

   Rising: /23/

   Falling: /32/, [43]

2. Large non-final groups: (in declarative sentences)

   Rising: /24/, /34/

   Falling: /32/, [42]

3. Declarative sentence finals:

   Falling: /21/, [31]

4. Yes/no questions:

   Rising: /23/, [24]

   Falling: /31/, /41/

5. Information questions:

   Rising: [23], [24]

   Falling: /31/, /41/

6. Commands:

   Falling: /41/

7. Exclamations:

   Falling: /41/

A. Phonetic Inventory of Falling Intonation Contours in Italian

small non-final	large non-final	declarative final	yes/no question	information question	imperative	exclamation
/32/	/32/	/21/	/31/,/41/	/31/,/41/	/41/	/41/
232	2243	1211	132	231	2441	2341
2322	2322	121	1331	2311	2411	2411
2332	2442	1221	2311	2321	2421	241
2432	2432	1231	2331	2341	2341	
			2341	2441		2342
322	3243	2211	2342	241	242	2442
3222	3443	211	2432	2411	2442	242
3242	332	21	2343	242	2332	
332	3432	221			2342	3241
342		2311	3331	31		3411
3422		231	3441	3311	3241	341
	with pause:	2321	3142		3211	342
343		2331		411	342	
	3433	2341	441	4221		41
432			4331	421	411	411
433		311	4333	431	41	421
		3231			441	4341
with pause:		321			431	441
		3211			4311	4411
243		331				
232		3321				
2432						
422						

B. Phonetic Inventory of Rising Intonation Contours in Italian

small non-final	large non-final	declarative final	yes/no question	information question	imperatives	exclamation
/23/	/24/,/34/		/23/			
223	2344	122	2333	2333	24	24
233	2244	123	2323	234	34	
2423	244	323	2423	2344		
2233				244		
323	3244		2224	3344		
423	324		2344			
	3344		234			
	334		2434			
without pause:	3444		24			
	3434					
233			3233			
23	without		3224			
2333	pause:		344			
2233						
3233	2344					
	344					
	3433					

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